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**No. 1934**

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## COLLABORATION OF POLICE ORGANS WITH PEOPLE DISCUSSED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Jun 81 pp 42-52

[Article by Sami Gega: "To Raise to a Higher Level the Cooperation With the People"]

[Text] The 40-year history of our party has always proven that "The party, throughout its life, has fought together with the people to solve every problem and to carry out every task" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Congress of the AWP," p 114). Created, inspired and guided by the party, all party levers, too, which constitute the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have, together with the people, continuously worked and fought to carry out the tasks entrusted to them. Thus, in relationship, in close cooperation with and together with the people, our Internal Affairs organs, too, have always worked, fought and have reaped all the successes during their entire history. This relationship and cooperation has increased the strength of these organs and their activity has become more productive.

We know well the great and irreplaceable contribution of the broad people's masses in uncovering, preventing and smashing hostile and, in general, harmful in the active support of the state security organs, of the police and frontier organs in carrying out, among other things, a series of military actions and other operations, through which counterrevolutionary organizations and spy groups have been defeated, dozens of armed criminal bands and a large number of foreign spies and agents have been eliminated, over a thousand border provocations and so forth have been successfully overcome, and the support of the state security organs in setting-up a series of traps and games through which they have successfully encountered foreign intelligence organs and vanquished them is also well known.

And this has happened and continues to happen because in our country, the working class and the other working masses who are in power and are masters of their own fates and of their country, are directly interested and are active even in regard to such important issues as the protection of their party and of their state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the defense of the socialist economic and social system, the maintenance of public law and order, the discovery, prevention and the smashing of the hostile and harmful activity in these directions. They see in the police organs, in the organs of the state security and of the border guards, the beloved weapons which have sprung from the bosom of the people, and are inspired by the party to defend the victories achieved, and support these organs in the implementation of their part, by actively defending the interests of the people, consider completely natural and essential the strengthening of relations and of cooperation with the people and their powerful reliance on the broad working masses for the fulfillment of the tasks entrusted to them.



It is a fact that now, the Internal Affairs organs, in the process of their work and struggle, and in confrontation with the external and internal enemies and wrongdoers, have acquired a rich experience in the establishment, expansion and strengthening of relations and cooperation with the masses. But, as the party reminds everyone, its own organs and organizations, the state organs and the mass organizations, the communists and cadres, the establishment and the strengthening of relations and cooperation with the people is a continuous and constantly dynamic process. The same can be said for the Internal Affairs organs. It is therefore their permanent duty, that by always correctly understanding and evaluating the need for reliance on the people, they must raise to an ever higher scientific level all the forms of cooperation with the masses, in compliance with the level of the tasks which they carry out under the present-day conditions of the fierce imperialist, bourgeois and revisionist blockade and encirclement.

1.

For a broader understanding and implementation of the line of the masses by the workers of the Internal Affairs organs.

This task is obligatory in our country for all the organisms and workers of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, because the line of the masses has been and remains one of the fundamental principles in the entire work of the party and of our socialist state. Therefore, the need was restressed, during the 9th Plenum of the party Central Committee, to strengthen and improve the warm, clear, lively and productive contacts with the masses, in which ideas can be exchanged with the workers about problems presented for solution and joint decisions can be made about the most effective roads to solution and these can be a common struggle for their solution.

As a result of the work of the party, the Internal Affairs organs too, their workers in the security, investigative, police and border forces, have carried out and carry out the line of the masses in their entire activity. They are closely united with the people, live and work together with them, and therefore they enjoy their trust, love and respect. It is difficult to find actions or cases of the solution of tasks by these organs without the opinion and without the active participation of the working masses.

Nevertheless, there is no room either for complacency and euphoria or to think that there are no problems and that they cannot arise in this field, because as the party teaches us, the implementation of the line of the masses deepens according to the demands and the situations, but also in constant struggle with remnants, concepts, manifestations, attitudes and practices which hinder its implementation. Aware of this, the party organs and organizations in the Internal Affairs organs devote special attention to the struggle against any concept which underestimates the great role of the working masses in uncovering, preventing and smashing on time every hostile and harmful activity and against every stand which hinders their broadest possible activation in this field.

By developing this field from an offensive position and in close unity with the practical activity of the workers of these organs, it has been emphasis placed on the thorough examination, understanding, assimilation and implementation of the line, the guidelines and directives of the party in general, and in this framework, also those

which have to do especially with the implementation of the line of the masses. From this point of view, analyses of work have been made and the activity of the organ, in general, or of its special workers have been evaluated, for periods of time and in implementation of specific tasks. These analyses have sharply criticized all manifestations of narrow sectarian, bureaucratic, technocratic attitudes, arrogant professional expressions on the part of a particular cadre or worker of these organs. At the same time proofs of positive examples and their analysis have been emphasized. Efforts have been made to avoid biased assessment of factors which have led to successes. The objective has been to create profound convictions among all that the optimal success is attained when all honest factors have provided their own contribution. It has been made clear, for example, that the high effectiveness of the preventive work which in our country prevents crime, relies on the close cooperation which has been established between the organs of security and of the police and the working collectives in propagating socialist law and through special counseling and educational work with those people who may become criminals.

The special attention given to these problems in their work by the party organs and organizations of the Internal Affairs organs at all levels, is dictated also by some general, but also specific factors.

The party has made it clear to us that as a result of the functions and of the specific activity of these organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and as a result of the fact that security workers are assuming more supervisory and investigative responsibility for the implementation and defending of the laws by the others, and their more frequent and more open confrontations with hostile and harmful elements, with enemies of public order and violators of laws, there is a greater potential danger that among special workers and cadres of these organs the mistaken idea may occur that "we are the most trusted ones," "we are the only ones who resolutely carry out the class struggle," "we are the only ones trusted with the defense of the political system and socialist economic-social order from the enemies and harmful elements, with the protection of public order and so forth." And opinions of this kind, totally wrong, narrow and sectarian ones, if not systematically fought, will only lead to the expression of professional arrogance and to mistaken, narrow and sectarian attitudes on the part of the person who practices them they will lead to the underestimation of the active role of the masses in the struggle to uncover, prevent and smash crime and to a conceited attitude on his part.

The fact also must be taken into consideration that new cadres are constantly joining the ranks of the Internal Affairs organs, cadres who since they are generally young and possess little work experience, need the help of the senior cadres of these organs in order to correctly evaluate and organize the cooperation with the masses in the process of solving the tasks entrusted them.

However, the further increasing of the level of activization of the masses in uncovering, preventing and smashing the hostile and harmful activity, requires the creation of healthy convictions among the masses themselves in regard to the need and value of this activism, and their close cooperation with the specialized organs. Life shows that the working masses cooperate closely with these organs when they become conscious that they are carrying out an important task in defending the interests of the entire society.

There are hundreds and thousands of cases when the workers, inspired by love of country and molded by correct political concepts about the state and about the manner of the regulation of relations in our socialist society, work actively and energetically for the prevention of criminal manifestations. They do not wait for the specialized organs to establish order or to fight foreign manifestations which someone displays at work, in the family or in the society. By being exemplary themselves, they intervene and demand that the others, too, respect the moral and legal norms. When needed, many workers, cooperativists and youths have sacrificed even their lives to uncover, prevent and smash the hostile and harmful activity together with the Internal Affairs organs. There are also many instances when the workers have uncovered and prevented the hostile and harmful activity toward socialist ownership.

Nevertheless, as a result of the remnants of feudal-bourgeois ideology which continue to exist in the conscience of the people, there are cases where certain persons, even cadres, maintain a passive attitude toward those elements who degenerate and commit hostile and harmful actions. They wrongly think that the protection of the socialist legal order, the protection of socialist ownership and so forth, are tasks belonging only to the Internal Affairs organs, forgetting thus the fact that these are problems belonging to all the organisms of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the working masses themselves.

It must be clear to everyone that the socialist legal order cannot be guarded by the policemen alone. The entire population guards it together with them. It is not the guards and the policemen alone who protect socialist ownership, but the workers and the cooperativists too. The more conscientious the workers are, the more concern is shown for observing of the rules in the management of property, the more organized and constant is the state control in all the links, from the brigade member up, the better the control of the masses and, the worker's and peasant control are carried out, and the more difficult the hostile and harmful activity with regard to socialist ownership becomes. Indifference prolongs the life of the activity of the class enemy and of the harmful element, and the party teaches us that this manifestation should be sharply fought by every party organization and its lever, everywhere and every time it is expressed.

2.

The strengthening of the revolutionary vigilance constitutes the first fundamental demand for the increase of the effectiveness of the cooperation of the masses with the Internal Affairs organs.

As a result of the continuing ideological and political work of the party and of its levers, the political vigilance of all the organisms of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the working masses has steadily grown. This is also proven by the fact that the hostile activity carried out in any form and in all fields has been uncovered, prevented and smashed on time.

But the class struggle on the national and international scale constitutes a live and dynamic and constantly developing process. Revolutionary vigilance must also be in permanent readiness and development, because the class enemy, internal and external, not only does not give up its plans to overthrow our socialist political and socio-economic order, but it also improves the forms of its activity, it makes them more deceptive, and at the same time, "tries to weaken the vigilance of the masses, seeks calm periods and breaks in the development of the class struggle in order to regenerate its forces and to strike by surprise" (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Party Congress of the AWP," p 137).



In the entire educational work for the strengthening of the revolutionary vigilance, an important place is occupied by the struggle against expressions of political conceit which weakens the class struggle in the ideological, political, economic, military and cultural front and which lowers the revolutionary vigilance of the cadres and of the masses. Political conceit is a concrete expression of the overestimation of our strength and the underestimation of the strength of the enemy. Its ideological sources are subjectivism, the superficial judgment of the real situations, liberalism, bureaucracy, euphoria and self-satisfaction with successes. The party has made great efforts to fight these manifestations. This struggle has become sharper after the uncovering and defeat of the hostile activity of the putschist and sabotaging groups in the military, cultural and economic fields.

But, despite all the successes, the party reminds us that this kind of manifestations and expressions should by no means be considered as a thing of the past. In conditions of the fierce imperialist, bourgeois and revisionist blockage and encirclement, they remain a constant threat and they tend to develop everytime they are underestimated. Aware of this, the party, at the 9th Plenum of its Central Committee, admonished us to understand the situations thoroughly and realistically and not to reconcile ourselves with those cases in which the correct, practical, and revolutionary conclusions are not found to confront them or when one fails to work sufficiently or efficiently for the fulfillment of the set tasks.

Concrete expressions of political conceit, the wrong approach to the situations, are those cases, no matter how rare, of cadres and communists in the military and in the field, who, influenced by pacifist ideas, lower revolutionary vigilance in the border zones and areas and, do not demand as they should the full observance of established rules. This is the source of some cases where some workers, including cadres, in the field and in the military, do not sufficiently value military training and neglect the mastery of military art of the people's war.

Priority must be given to the struggle against every manifestation, no matter how small, of political conceit and of baseless euphoria and as a consequence, any weakening, no matter how little, of revolutionary vigilance in the ranks of the workers of the organs of Internal Affairs. Experience tells us that the cadre or worker of these organs who does not correctly and deeply assess the situations, who does not draw the correct conclusions from them, who maintains narrow concepts with regard to vigilance, will fail to keep the vigilance alive among the workers with whom he cooperates for the implementation of tasks. It also happens that this cadre or worker of the Internal Affairs organs fails to look at the situation realistically and says "we are fine," "we have no problems of concern," even when, in production and in life, where he is active, there are, in fact, the kind of problems and manifestations which must be of concern to him.

The duty to protect our political and socialist socio-economic order and defend the country, requires that the party organs and organizations of the Internal Affairs organs, including those in the field, better approach the struggle against these manifestations, so that every citizen, cadre or state organ, in all fields of endeavor, understands the revolutionary vigilance from the fullest political-ideological point of view. Everyone must always view, judge and implement the problems from a sharp political and class aspect.



To have a full political-ideological understanding of vigilance means to consider it a question of world outlook and class character, as an objective necessity so as to apply oneself successfully to the development of the class struggle in all the political, economic, ideological, military, cultural, scientific fields and so forth, a quality and task which is expected not only from a few, but from all, from every communist and worker, from every sector and life of our activity. Revolutionary vigilance must be permanent, always sharp, and must never and under no circumstance be interrupted. At the same time, the party teaches us not to indulge in sectarian actions and positions. Any small wrongdoing which we encounter in our people should not be given a political meaning. Distinction must be made among people who err. To be vigilant does not mean to distrust the people, but to carry out the principle "trust and control."

Revolutionary vigilance is as much a general as a concrete notion. The demand to be vigilant is correctly understood and implemented by those workers who have a good knowledge of the party line and the political-ideological substance of the party directives and decisions. They have been and are always in the position to investigate, uncover, avert and smash on time every deviation, from this line and every hostile and harmful activity. On the contrary, those who fail to know the party line and, its directives and decisions, also fail to have a clear understanding of the objective of the class struggle, and lack vigilance. Consequently, it is essential to improve the educational work for the examination and knowledge of the party directives, decisions and guidelines and the laws of the state, in the struggle against every manifestation of formalism and aimless work, against lax tendencies or superficial work. Life teaches us, for example, that in order to raise the juridical awareness of the masses, in which a special role is played by the Internal Affairs organs and investigative organs, it is wrong to read the laws in a perfunctory manner. The effectiveness of the propaganda work in this field improves when the political-ideological content of laws, orders and rules is extracted, when, first of all, a comprehensive study work is made regarding the concrete expressions of violations in a specific zone, enterprise or agricultural cooperative in which the damage is examined, and when it is found out why these cases of violations take place, according to the age and the various categories and levels of people. Conditions in this regard are improving, but there are still a number of cases of haphazard work taking place without the knowledge and prior study of the situation.

The thorough knowledge of problems and the initiation of work on the basis of their specifics require a continuous and programmed work which covers the entire zone or district, all the categories of people working and living there. One cannot pretend that the task has been correctly carried out as in the case of Librazhd District, when the law or the rule is applied only to the zones close to the city and the remote zones are "forgotten." Also it can not be said that the meeting with the workers to organize the people's investigation or to issue conclusions drawn from the investigative processes, gives the necessary results in those cases when the cadre who directs these activities shows little care for its overall preparation regarding the problem to be treated and for the thorough understanding of the situation in that zone or collective.

The party organs and organizations in the Internal Affairs organs have also been confronted with these issues. They have also taken measures. But the issue is, for them, inspired by the materials of the 9th Plenum of the party Central Committee, to further increase their efforts. A sharper struggle must be waged against mani-

festations of bureaucracy and of formalism which appear in the work with the people, which reduce the effectiveness of the work for their political-juridical education.

3.

The more effective implementation of the line of the masses requires the improvement of all the forms and methods of work which assure the active participation of the masses in defending peace and order, in uncovering, averting and smashing hostile and harmful activity, and keeping pure the moral and political image of the workers of the Internal Affairs organs.

The creation of correct and complete concepts of the role of the masses in solving the tasks assigned to the Internal Affairs organs by the party helps these organs to plan and execute their work in close cooperation with the other levers of the party, especially with the mass organizations.

Led by the repeated recommendations of the party, our Internal Affairs organs have used and use a series of forms and methods to involve the masses in solving the tasks which these organs carry out. They have amassed a rich experience in this direction, but it must be deepened and raised to a higher scientific level. To assure this new step, experience suggests that the party organs and organizations in the districts and in the field should show greater care especially for a broader and more systematic development of relations between the cadres and the workers of these organs and the cadres and the activists of the mass organizations of the region, so that, among other things, the exchange of opinions and the acquiring of information by the masses will improve, along with the improvement of the work with the voluntary cooperation groups, and so that the accountability of the cadres of the Internal Affairs organs to the people will become ever more productive.

The workers of the Internal Affairs organs are characterized by simplicity, objectivity and love of the party in the analysis and evaluation of issues, correctness in implementing the laws, boundless love for the people and class hatred for the enemy. They enjoy the respect of the people and the people like them. The people talk freely and in a fraternal manner with the operation worker, with the policeman, with the commander and the commissar of the border post, even about family problems, they consult each other and exchange opinions on correct work procedure, on the implementation and defense of laws. They also provide their generous help to guard our socialist economic and social order.

As in the past, today too, reliance on the people, on its information and signals, constitutes for the Internal Affairs organs one of the main sources of success for the fulfillment of tasks. The uncovering and capturing of the border violators or of elements of hostile groups, has been realized in most instances due to the tips and the active efforts of the population. The working class, the cooperative peasantry, our entire socialist society, carry on a great and comprehensive work according to the teachings of the party and under its leadership, for the creation and education of the new man with characteristics and virtues of proletarian morality, the new man who maintains a socialist attitude at work and in the society. Society maintains a critical attitude toward those special elements who err, it tries to reform them and only when they fail to change through criticisms, advice and other educational measures and become more reprehensible, commit penal acts, the society reacts severely and reports them to the respective organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This is the general picture. But practice shows that the level of tips from the workers and especially the speed with which they are communicated, greatly depends on the closeness of the relationship between the masses and the Internal Affairs organs and their response toward the tips which they receive. The generally positive picture in this field should not allow us to underestimate those cases, no matter how rare, of formalist and bureaucratic stands toward the people who have reported something, or of indifference shown toward the tips given by the workers. These actions not only hinder the knowledge and speedy solution of concrete issues, but sometimes they create apathy and indifference among the workers who have issued given these tips and among others.

In order to avoid these shortcomings, the party organizations of the Internal Affairs organs must devote more care to the union and cooperation of their workers with the mass organizations, through which the healthy social opinion is further strengthened and the sole front of the struggle against manifestations and expressions foreign to our socialist society, which encourage or promote illegal acts. In this field, considerable good experience is to be found in the districts of Berat, Korce, Shkoder and elsewhere, where the management cadres of the Internal Affairs organs and of the mass organizations meet from time to time, discuss and exchange opinions, and have even organized joint activities for the strengthening of the preventive work against foreign expressions and manifestations. The general knowledge of this experience is of assistance in expanding and deepening cooperation, and in carrying out studies and generalizations for this purpose. After the 9th Plenum of the party Central Committee, under the direction of the party committees of some districts, joint aktivi of the Border Forces and of the state organs and mass organizations took place, which discussed the tasks of every link of the party for the implementation of laws and of legal acts which regulate the rules of the border system and exchanged experience for cooperation in the field of the further strengthening of revolutionary vigilance. These aktivi, among other things, evaluated the initiatives of the old men of catistre in Gjirokastra and of the pioneers of Gjirokastra in Diber to protect the border system, and it was asked that they be generalized.

Continuous attention and care must be given to the work with the voluntary cooperation groups in which are activated thousands of people from the ranks of the working class, cooperativist peasantry and youths who help the people's police in carrying out its tasks of keeping public order. The members of these groups which act voluntarily as social activists are a powerful support for the police in keeping public law and order. They help to educate the people with the spirit of the fulfillment of norms and to raise social opinion against those who violate the rules and legal norms. There are districts like that of Tirana, Lushnje and Shkoder where a better work is carried out with this great mass of social activists by regularly carrying out with them educational and professional work.

Nevertheless, in the work with the voluntary cooperation groups not everything goes according to the plan. In some districts there is shortsightedness, considering the work with these groups as a matter which belongs only to the police organs, when it is known that the activity of these groups concerns, above all, the state organs and mass organizations, which together with the police organs must work better for the solving, organizing and educating of the members of these groups. It is not normal for example for the Elbasan District to have, in relation to the population, fewer members in the ranks of the voluntary cooperation groups than Koloje District, whereas in the city of Berat, the participants in the voluntary cooperation groups



are carefully selected and good work is carried out with them, therefore their activation, too, is exemplary. In Stalin City where there is poor cooperation between the state organs, the mass organizations and the police organs, there are few members in these groups and they are rarely active.

Accountability to the people, as a principle and norm of our socialist democracy, is another measure which serves the strengthening of the ties of the Internal Affairs organs with the people. By carrying out the directive of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the accountability of the cadres and the workers of these organs to the masses, has been steadily and ever better organized and implemented. As a result, the activity of these organs has been better subjected to the control of the masses, the assessment of the work of their cadres and workers has been carried out in a more objective manner and their responsibility to the people has been raised. But, regardless of the achievements so far, it is the task of the party organs and basic organizations of the Internal Affairs organs never to reconcile themselves with failure to be accountable to the masses or with formalistic accountability.

The party has always recommended that during meetings with the people, accountability be given and not demanded, the opinions of the workers, their observations and suggestions be assessed in regard to the work in general and to the cadre or the concrete worker who gives the reports. In order to attain this result, as life teaches us, the cadre or the worker who gives the reports must be well prepared, and those who will be given reports must also be prepared to offer their opinions. When this dual preparation is not assured, it can happen that at the meeting only one voice will be heard, and the wrong conclusion is drawn that "everything went well, the people had nothing to say about our work."

The basic party organizations of the Internal Affairs organs, especially those of the police, must fight also the concept according to which, giving accountability to the masses is considered as facing investigation by the state organs, during the analysis made to the activity of these organs. The people's counselors, of course, possess the people's mandate and reporting to them is considered also reporting to the people, but in no way, neither theoretically nor practically, can this form of giving accountability substitute for giving of accountability directly to the people. When the activity of giving accountability to the people is well organized, the cadres and the workers of these organs a better idea of the opinion of the masses about their activity, and a stronger blow is dealt to cases of superficial work and to manifestations of the feeling of being privileged. Through these accountability meetings with the people, the masses, too, are taught how to demand accountability and to hold responsible anyone who does not properly carry out the task which he is charged with.

\* \* \*

The correct understanding of the mass line in its entirety, perfecting and placing, on a more solid basis, the forms and the methods which unite the masses with the Internal Affairs organs as life proves, continuously raise the level and effectiveness of the masses in defending the dictatorship of the proletariat and our socialist economic and social order as a whole.

During this jubilee year of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the party and of its 8th congress, the party organs and basic organizations of the Internal Affairs organs have intensified their work for the strengthening of their ties with the

masses. They are led in their entire activity by the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha that "The carrying out of the tasks of the Internal Affairs organs is inconceivable without the continuous and overall support of the people. Precisely here is to be found one of the main sources of their strength (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the 7th Congress of the AWP," p 126).

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## AUTHOR DZHAGAROV RELATES HIS IMPRESSIONS OF ZHIVKOV

Sofia LITERATURNI FRONT in Bulgarian 3 Sep 81 pp 1, 3

[Article by Georgi Dzhagarov: "Grandma Marutaa"]

[Text] I had just come home. It was somewhere in the late afternoon. The shirt on my back felt clammy from the June heat. I wanted to stretch out on the bed—my family was not at home—stretch out, relax and forget the endless debates with colleagues over politics in recent years when the telephone rang in the other room, or so it seemed to me. I listened closely. Yes, yes, it's ringing! I'm probably wanted at the editorial office. I lifted the receiver and heard a friendly and familiar woman's voice. "Hallo!" Angelina, Comrade Todor Zhivkov's secretary answered. He was interested in knowing if I would be free tomorrow and if I were and nothing on the job prevented whether I would go with him on a drive to Pravets. We would go by car and there would be two more comrades with us.

"I'm free," I almost shouted. "Tell Comrade Zhivkov that I'm free. I'm not busy with anything. Give him my regards and thank him very much. (How can I help being free?) Clear, I'll be in front of the entrance tomorrow morning—the office entrance, of course." "Very well," said Angelina, "I'll tell him so," and hung up the telephone. I stood stunned for a little while. I had forgotten something. Oh yes! I had wanted to lie down for a while but was there time now? Better to read some book. I leaf through the pages; I can't read. I turn on the radio. Talk, talk! I can't listen. I'll type a little; I put in a sheet of paper, punch two or three times; it's no go, I'm distracted. I open the window and let in some air. How fresh the air is! Soon it will be dark and I shall go to bed properly. I'll put my head on the pillow and drop off for a long sleep so as to be fresh and brisk tomorrow. Just let me fall asleep, asleep. But I did not fall asleep all night.

My first meeting privately with Comrade Zhivkov in his office had taken place about a month ago. My brow still burned from embarrassment. A little round table and two glasses of "Pliska." I didn't know then that he does not drink at all. I raised my glass and clinked the glasses together. "Well, here's to your health!" However, he didn't drink but only raised his glass and put it down. I hadn't noticed this because he was asking me how I was and what I did. "But I don't want to talk about myself. I'm worried about big questions." "What kind?" Comrade Zhivkov smiled, "Tell me and let's see!" And I, absorbed by his confidence, talked



and talked. So many things were pent up in my heart—pains, griefs, concerns, anxieties, hopes, doubts. I would tell him everything, what I believed in and what I did not believe in, the truth pleasant and unpleasant as I felt it. I would tell him nothing but the truth and I was sure he would understand me.

What a man; he sat slightly bent over and intent. His face was calm, he had swarthy smooth skin and merry and piercing sparkles played in his eyes. He listened to me with his whole attention and this raised my spirits. I was more and more captivated. Stop it, I have talked enough. "Are you in a hurry?" he asked me. "I'm in no hurry, but I feel uneasy wasting your time. I'm not concerned about my time. I have plenty!" And again I embarked upon different subjects. I didn't finish one before I took up another. Just let me not get confused. But how should I get confused? As it turned out, Comrade Zhivkov kept in mind everything down to the least detail and if I got confused, put me right with questions and comments. I felt so wonderful that without wanting to I began to observe him and it seemed to me that every moment he was the same and not the same; his figure was created, so to speak, to be a form of zeal, of will, of constant motion, or perhaps to stand in one place as a figure hewn out of stone to support this huge brow.

The garden behind the mausoleum was luxuriant with leafy trees and shrubs. I sat down on a bench and tried to collect myself. "This is farewell, goodbye," I said to myself. "There will be no more appointments with Todor Zhivkov. Too bad, damn it, that's that. But at least I succeeded in telling him everything from the heart. A reminiscence, a happy reminiscence and such a happy one." This is how I was thinking and I could not calm myself because I had met my downfall and days of fierce battles had come in our public life; who is for and who is against is very important, especially in writers' circles and I realized that I would participate in these battles and some colleagues would crucify me all because of what I had confessed to the foremost man, while he, busy with his own tremendous job, will hardly inquire about me. This is how I was thinking, upset and perplexed; there will be no new appointment, but to my great surprise he called me in again the very next day and again I talked about the same subjects. Afterwards new appointments followed in succession and after every appointment I always thought it was the last, but here I am invited to go with him to his home village.

The month of June had arrived in full force. There were four of us going to Pravets—five with the driver—in one car; one was Comrade Zhivkov's friend—tall, handsome and [one word illegible], the other, my friend, our famous actor. Comrade Zhivkov left possession of the small forum for debate to the two. He was in a marvelous mood but now, in this atmosphere of general anguish and sorrow, I could not venture to tell how he jested, what wit poured forth from him, with what ease and artistry he restored order between the two wrangling parties. Now we are all sad; his beloved child, his daughter Lyudmila, his great hope and pride has left us. She passed before us like a vision and perhaps like an omen illumined our path with her patriotism, inspiration and self-sacrifice and died; born of fire and between the fire of time, she has turned into fire and we will never forget her. Farewell, Lyudmila!

We arrived in Pravets before noon. The car stopped in front of an ordinary stone fence obviously built not very long ago. Near the gate a group of adults had

gathered. It was not difficult to recognize among them Grandma Marutaa, Comrade Zhivkov's mother, a typical Bulgarian woman of medium height, wearing dark clothing and a dark kerchief with her hands folded over a calico apron—a personable woman, as she would be called in our parts. She shook hands with her son; we shook hands with her and with the others as well. "You have brought me visitors? Good, come in." We entered the yard. That dear mother's garden! Geraniums, roses, tulips of every kind—yellow, red, blue; the sidewalk sprinkled with water and swept off, several young pine trees stretching to breathe the Pravets air. Facing us, warmed by the sun a one-story annex awaited us with open doors. "May I invite you inside?" said Grandma Marutaa. "Ask the comrades," said Comrade Zhivkov and turned towards us. "Come into the house," Grandma Marutaa invited us. "Come in." We entered. Inside everything was as modest as could be, but in contrast the walls were richly decorated with photographs, large and small, framed and unframed, reproductions, old calendars, baptismal and school certificates. The painstaking hands of a mother! In most of the photographs I recognized Comrade Zhivkov, schoolchild, youth, worker, party functionary, alone or with friends. In one photograph he was with Mara Maleeva as bridegroom, in another with Lyudmila and Vladimir, but I was most strongly attracted to one of a child wearing a little fur cap. I looked and looked at her for a long time and continuously felt behind me the stern eyes of Grandma Marutaa.

This amateur inspection was over in a hurry. Grandma Marutaa invited us into the yard around a small table covered with an oilcloth. We all sat down. Next to me sat a grown man, quiet and meek, Grandpa Khristo; up till now we had hardly noticed him. "Khristo," Grandma Marutaa said to him, "let us treat our guests." Grandpa Khristo bustled about and put out plates of tomatoes and cucumbers. Grandma Marutaa said they were from the garden. "We plant them ourselves, we hoe and water them ourselves, but we don't eat them alone. Every day guests, children and young people come. Foreigners come too. They all ask where Todor Zhivkov was born." "You have become something of a tourist guide," Comrade Zhivkov joked. "But the people were on excursions, Toshko. They pass by here and ask about you and I tell them what you were like, what you were." "But you haven't told me." Comrade Zhivkov winked at us. "What shall I tell you?" Grandma Marutaa gives us bread and forks. "For you it's not important what you were like, but for others it is."

The sun soared over the tall mulberry tree on the other side of the fence and burned our faces. We began to blink at one another and tossed our coats on the chair backs. Grandma Marutaa remained in her place. "Toshko," she said, "why won't you help Tseno? They have ruined the boy." "He has fixed things up, hasn't he?" said Comrade Zhivkov. There was a startled note of apology in his voice. Grandma Marutaa did not wait for him to continue. "How will he straighten things out," she said, "unless you help him? Neither he, Marin, nor Pesko has straightened things out," and she enumerated some ten names. I mention them tentatively because I didn't jot them down. This was not very pleasant for Comrade Zhivkov. "Now wait," he said. "Isn't there anybody in charge here?" "Yes, how can there help but be?" said Grandma Marutaa laying stress on her words. "You can't begin to count them. They loaf about the offices. There's not much to choose between them. They haven't fixed the streets. Ours they fixed because it's you while the other streets are a cloud of dust with ditches, hogs wallowing, dogs chasing each other. This shouldn't be. It's a shame. Look into it and help them!"

The heat of the day was rising and the temperature around the table was rising too. We wiped the sweat from our brow. Grandma Marutaa stood up, smoothed her apron and went to the fence where a large blue pot was simmering over a bed of embers. Our two friends took up their dispute over art; one was disposed towards opera, the other towards theater, but on the whole everything boiled down to the actor's right to make his mark with the entire brilliance and grandeur of his talent. "The bean soup is ready," Grandma Marutaa announced [three words illegible] the cover of the pot and in the yard there wafted the delightful smell of boiled beans. "You have got used to city food," Grandma Marutaa added, "but here we cannot do without bean soup." "I'm mad about boiled beans," cried my friend, "but where to get them? They're not available." "We are importing them from abroad, you know," said Comrade Zhivkov. "It's a disgrace that things have come to this, but we will get straightened out. This year there will be more in the market." "I hope," my friend gloomily wished, "that we will feel our stomachs because what is a Bulgarian without his beans? Nothing! We shall lose both our eloquence, our talent and our national boundaries." Such a laugh thundered forth that the hens in the neighboring yard began to cackle and a rooster started crowing hoarsely and flapping his wings.

Grandma Marutaa ladled beans out of the pot with a wooden spoon and Grandpa Khristo passed out plates filled to overflowing. The food was authentic. Our two friends asked for hot chilies, shredded them into their soup and began to sip it noisily with ah's and oh's without forgetting to praise the cook. She was sitting to one side at a corner of the table, occupied with her concerns, and kept repeating that a certain woman had come from Silistra that day. "For three days she battled the road to get here. She complained and I took her address." Grandma Marutaa kept insisting and looking at Comrade Zhivkov, "See to it and help! Afterwards some people came from Plovdiv Okrug, from Petrich and Khaskovo, and some came from both Duskot, Pleven and all over the place. People come from Botevgrad and Etropole every day." "You have opened a reception room here," said Comrade Zhivkov. "But what am I to do, Toshko dear?" "You have turned into a petitioner, and petitioning is forbidden as you know." Grandma Marutaa drew back a little. "I'm no petitioner," she said, "I'm your mother!"

At this point Grandma Marutaa would perhaps have finished with her questions but her son considered it necessary to explain to her that there is a procedure in the state. "Procedure?" She gave a start. "If there is procedure, why isn't it observed? For some there is procedure, for others there isn't. People want to come and see you and talk to you, but can they do it? But you stay under that turret and soldiers keep anybody from coming in, they require passes, see; others come in without passes, the ones who want cars, apartments, offices, larger offices. You give to them until they are stuffed to the top, greedy people. Can't you just kick them out? The people will kiss your hand."

This is the way Grandma Marutaa and the people spoke! We fell silent, mopped the sweat and were embarrassed for Comrade Zhivkov. But the right to speak and Grandma Marutaa's words were to my liking. They were like a buttress to me.

Comrade Zhivkov grew up on healthy soil, I thought to myself, and delightedly observed him to see whether he would withstand this attack of his mother's-- withstand but ultimately give in. He has sound roots, there is no fault in this



family. My friend and I were strangers to Grandma Marutsa. Comrade Zhivkov stirred in his chair. "This is inopportune," he said, "we're here as your guests." "Why is it inopportune," Grandma Marutsa interrupted. "What kind of friends are they if it's inopportune for them to hear about people's troubles? Do people battle such a road for their health? People up and come here from one end of Bulgaria to the other in order to complain about their hardships. If I don't tell you, who will, Tosho? Will those who hover around you over there, dear?"

Grandma Marutsa got up and went into the annex. Comrade Zhivkov tapped the table with his thin fingers. "You can't win with her. It's not easy to have such a mother. She is all I need in order not to sleep at night. One conversation can raise questions for two plenums of the Central Committee. That's the way she is." He took out his watch. "It's time to leave. Do you like Pravets? Did you know that Levaki came here? Pravets people took part in almost all the bands. Alert and honest people. And the mountain all around, what beauty! But in times past who thought about beauty? We grazed cattle. A slice of bread and a lump of cheese, that was food for us for a whole day. If there was cheese, that is, because usually there wasn't." Comrade Zhivkov went on with his story in this way. I listened to him but my attention was with Grandma Marutsa all the time. I took advantage of a short pause, got up and went into the annex to see what Todor Zhivkov's mother was doing.

She was arranging a water service set. Seeing me, she moved the pitcher to the window but didn't like this, took the pitcher and returned it to its place again. I decided to ask her what Comrade Zhivkov was like as a child. She looked at me sternly. "Like what? Like all children!" "Not quite," I said. "Otherwise we would have many Todor Zhivkova, but there is one of him." Grandma Marutsa looked me up and down. "What were you like? I heard that you are a poet!" I mumbled that I wrote a little poetry. "Fine! fine!" said Grandma Marutsa, "Khristo Botev wrote a little too, but everybody knows him." Here she softened a little. It even seemed to me that a certain sadness passed over her face. "Write, son, write. Help Todor Zhivkov. Don't you see it's difficult for him working from morning till evening. For whom? He works hard for the people. He was like that as a youngster. If you only knew what a hard life and what troubles we had. We worked like the very devil. You ask what he was like. For any mother her children are the nicest and I am a mother. But I can't speak against my conscience. He was the smartest then too; his teachers praised him and his comrades did too. But I'm his mother, aren't I? I realized that he would become somebody. Is your mother alive?"

"Yes, she is still alive in a village over there in the Sliven Balkans. She is old and sick. Not long ago during the Twelfth Party Congress she telephoned me. 'Why aren't you with Todor Zhivkov?' 'How can I help not being?' I answered her in amazement. 'I want to see you near him,' she said to me almost dictatorially. 'Near him and listening to him. Do you hear me!' and hung up the phone." Mamma, mamma, how long has it been that I have failed to go and see you? You have the same sharp character as Grandma Marutsa. Your entire life you worked hard in other people's fields. Your hands withered spinning and weaving for other people. Your husband and grown sons in the mines and forest paths while you wondered how to feed the younger sons. You didn't know what ring-dancing and merry-making were. Always toil, always hard work, always weeping over police stations and prisons. Now you are alone. How long has it been that I have failed to go and see you? I

plead that I am busy. "What are you busy with? Isn't Todor Zhivkov busy? Every week he goes to his mother's. I shall die, soon I shall die, then you'll see." Forgive me, mamma. When the military music was played over your grave, there was no guiltier person in the world than I. Then again you called to mind Grandma Marutsa, how she looked at me before she left the room. Most likely she felt what I was experiencing. She came near me and asked me what was the matter with me. I bent down and silently kissed her hand.

Outside in the yard the comrades were making ready to leave. Comrade Zhivkov turned to me. "What did you talk about with Grandma Marutsa?" "It's a secret, Comrade Zhivkov," I said. "What secret? Do tell, do tell," but again I kept silent. I wanted to preserve something for myself—the traits of a mother. She could have been the mother of Vasil Levski or the mother of Khristo Botev. She could have been Grandma Tonka or Grandma Parashkeva. As it turned out, she was Grandma Marutsa, one of those mothers who gave birth to rebels, military leaders, revolutionaries, partisan commanders, party leaders and statesmen, ordinary and great people, one of those mothers for whose name it has always been possible to substitute the name of Mother Bulgaria.

The sun did not fit our moods. Grandma Marutsa's garden glowed with all its colors. The young pine trees near the end of the sidewalk had fused with the green luxuriance of the shrubs. The roofs of Pravets blaze into something red. Grandpa Khristo was collecting the plates and in his hands they sparkled like stars. Our two friends wound up their debate about art with a mutual truce. They had to wind up this stormy debate because we were about to ascend the Pravets hills and towards evening I would go home from the editorial office. Weary, I shall want to lie down for a while, but the telephone will ring in the other room and I shall dash, lift the receiver and hear the familiar voice of Angelina. "Hallo, hallo! How do you feel?" How do I feel? It goes without saying how I feel—as fine as can be. "Give my regards to Comrade Zhivkov and thank him very much for the ride." "Very well," Angelina will say, "I will tell him" and will hang up the phone. And I will wait till it gets dark and will go to bed early like everybody else, will put my head on my pillow and try to sleep long and sweetly. To sleep, to sleep, but I know that again I'll not fall asleep during the whole night.

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PROMOTION OF FOREIGN STUDENT PROGRAM EVALUATED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 26 No 9, Sep 81 signed to press  
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[ 'Investigations and Surveys' feature article by Siegfried Foerster, director, Committee for Foreign Student Affairs in the GDR, East Berlin: "Thirty Years of Foreign Student Program in the GDR" ]

[ Text ] Thirty years ago the first foreigners enrolled at universities in the GDR which had just been established. To be precise, they began to prepare themselves for university entrance at the ABF [ worker and peasant school ] at Leipzig University. They were 11 young Nigerians who came to us in 1951, the year of the Third World Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin. Their registration documented the start of the foreign student program in the GDR.

Dr Werner Hain, lecturer at the Institute for Tropical Agriculture, Karl Marx University, Leipzig, a representative of that generation to which H. Kant erected a lasting memorial in his novel "Die Aula" [ The Assembly Hall ] remembers:

"September 1951--the just registered students at the worker and peasant school of Leipzig University (of whom I was one) assembled to begin a new segment of their lives, study at the university. Behind us was practical work in various enterprises for the construction of our young republic, behind us were unforgettable days at the Berlin world festival in which most of us had participated.

In those August days in Berlin world youth gave recognition to our peaceful construction in the streets and squares of our capital, we were accepted into the great community uniting in the struggle for peace and progress and national liberation.

The enrolment in GDR institutions of higher learning by representatives of Asian, African and Latin American peoples reflected our close links with these peoples. We were the first to begin this new segment of our lives in Leipzig together with young people from Africa and Asia...We considered it an obligation to offer the utmost help to our foreign fellow students with regard to their learning the German language and adapting to our lifestyle...Joint efforts and results brought us together, and friendships bloomed, which have endured for many years to the present day. Hardly any of us then thought that invitations to visit their homelands could actually be taken up after our studies were completed. Now, many years later, we know better."



Dr Hain and many other GDR scientists have met again with graduates of our universities, colleges and technical schools when traveling in Africa, Asia and Latin America, or on various occasions at home and abroad, and they have maintained close contacts with them.

In the past 30 years some 18,000 foreign graduates from 120 countries have gone home from our universities, colleges and technical schools. They are doing important work for the benefit of their peoples. They include senior government officials, university presidents, scientists, diplomats, economists and cultural workers.

The make-up of the foreign students directly reflects the policy of the SED and the GDR Government, characterized by proletarian internationalism and international solidarity. The Nigerian students were followed by Koreans who came to us directly from the armed struggle against the American interventionists, some of them distinguished by many medals. Students from the People's Republic of Bulgaria were the first from the community of socialist countries. The DRV /Democratic Republic of Vietnam/, now the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, provided the numerically largest delegation.

Within the scope of the foreign student program, the training of cadres from socialist countries has a special place. Considerably expanded since the 1960's, it was initially organized as the unity of training and further education. On the basis of common targets the CEMA member countries developed closer cooperation with regard to the training and further education of scientific cadres. The conferences of ministers for university affairs devoted themselves to this problem, and so did--in various ways-- the meetings and research agreements based on central state treaties as well as treaties of friendship between universities and colleges of socialist countries.

The training and education of students from socialist countries is based on common political goals and principles, the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism and the same socioeconomic interests.

In the training of scientific cadres the socialist countries endeavor to establish a certain reciprocity, although this obviously does not mean exact numerical parity in every case.

Following party and government decisions the training of foreign cadres here and our cadres in other socialist countries was planned for the long term, and educational methods and specialties were agreed between the various countries. This demonstrates that--especially with reference to socialist countries--a close link exists between the foreign student program here and the enrolment of GDR students abroad. Incidentally, the anniversaries of the beginning of the foreign student program here and studies abroad by GDR students coincide. In 1951 the GDR sent its first students to the USSR. In October 1981 this event will be celebrated in various ways, including recognition of the fact that many thousands of cadres trained in the USSR and other socialist countries contribute a great deal to the consolidation of the socialist community of nations, socialist economic integration, the scientific-technological and cultural cooperation of our countries.

Many graduates of foreign institutions of further education are also working in GDR universities and technical schools.

For the past 30 years the USSR has selflessly responded to all GDR wishes for the training of scientific cadres. The numbers of graduates as well as the training offer proof of the great efficiency and the high standard of Soviet science and Soviet university teachers. The USSR, for its part, sends to our republic the numerically strongest foreign contingent of students and postgraduate students. Our university teachers, scientific staffs and students make every effort also to achieve the best possible performance in the training of Soviet students .

Many experiences gained in studies in socialist countries were used to organize the foreign student program here. That applies not only to linguistic preparation but also to the political and ideological work with foreign students. In the years since 1951 the foreign student program in the GDR as well as other socialist countries has developed into a significant element of socialist educational policy.

We consider the training and further education of scientific cadres from socialist countries one of the main directions for the development of the foreign student program in the GDR in the years to come.

The second main direction concerns the training and further education of national cadres from countries outside the socialist community of nations. Here it is particularly important to respond to the needs of the nationally liberated countries which have chosen a socialist approach to development. The numbers of students from, among others, Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Mozambique and Nicaragua have risen significantly and will continue to do so. Our aid to these countries is not restricted to the training of scientific cadres. It is rather oriented to the necessary development of their own educational systems and closely linked with the work of GDR experts as scientists and university teachers in these countries. Increasingly encouraged at the same time is the training by GDR teachers of national cadres in their homelands. An example is the Karl Marx Institute in Luanda, dedicated to economics and planning. The aim is to help provide the necessary internal conditions for these cadres in future to be trained at home by their own nationals.

The college preparatory facilities of the GDR are confronted with serious problems due to the very different standard of qualifications of incoming students. Some of them lack adequate knowledge of natural sciences or general knowledge, others have difficulties in adapting to the lifestyle, working conditions and social standards of the host country, and so on. As a rule these are quickly coped with, just as are the language difficulties.

A great deal of praise is due the Herder Institute at Karl Marx University, which was established 25 years ago as an institute for foreign students and, 20 years ago, given the inspirational name Johann Gottfried Herder. It evolved from the "special course for learning the German language," instituted in 1952 and has long carried out far more than just the function of teaching the language. The Herder Institute has been the door to the GDR and the first home of more than 17,000 foreigners.

In addition to language teaching the preparation of foreigners for university and technical school studies in the GDR also involves the teaching of those technical subjects familiarity with which corresponds to our high school graduation requirements, as well as the most varied possible acquaintance with social life in our

country. The Herder Institute is also a research institute enjoying a good deal of international respect.

At the present time the capacity of the Herder Institute no longer suffices to cope with the training of steadily growing numbers of foreign students.<sup>2</sup> The socialist countries have agreed among themselves that the necessary linguistic and technical preconditions should be met before arrival in the GDR. GDR teachers of German are working in those countries. At the same time foreign language and technical instructors at the Walter Ulbricht ABF at Martin Luther University, Halle, help to prepare our students for studies abroad.

To meet the rising demand special courses have been initiated at various universities, colleges and technical schools in the GDR for the linguistic and technical preparation of foreigners for undergraduate, postgraduate or doctoral work. This way additional capacities have been provided and the large influx of foreign students to the GDR handled. The numbers of engineering and technical schools enrolling foreign students are growing steadily. The reason for this development is the high esteem enjoyed by the GDR technical school system abroad and the benefits of training--the rapid effectiveness of graduates in the direct practice of production. By their work many graduates have persuasively proved the value of their training and, consequently, encouraged the interest in training at GDR engineering and technical schools in many nationally liberated countries, especially Africa.

At the present time foreigners are studying at 60 GDR engineering and technical schools. The faculty, helped by FDJ students, provides them with solid training, and foreign students show their desire to succeed by their achievements. Usually our foreign friends are displaying a great deal of initiative and political commitment in extracurricular pursuits.

The decision of 18 March 1980 by the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, "Tasks of Universities and Colleges in the Developed Socialist Society," confirmed that colleges and technical schools in the GDR have registered remarkable achievements in training foreign students. We are quite justified in speaking of a historic GDR achievement in this respect. At the Fifth University Conference the Minister for University and Technical School Affairs noted in regard to the young national states that "their struggle for democracy and social progress is aided...by the training and further education of cadres."

Many nationally liberated countries and national liberation organizations in Africa, Latin America and Asia have the highest esteem for this solidarity aid granted by our republic for the past 30 years. Nor is it presumptuous to claim that the results of the foreign study program in the GDR helped in the early 1970's to break through the political and diplomatic blockade of the GDR.

Thirty years ago, when foreign students first began to arrive, the GDR was able, unlike the GDR, to continue a tradition established in the old Germany of the 18th Century. In 1730 "Anton Wilhelm Amo, from Guinea in Africa" was registered at Wittenberg University--the first student from his Continent at a German university. Four years later he graduated with a thesis on the relation between reason and the soul. Subsequently the "black philosopher" worked in Halle and Jena. Returned to his homeland he struggled there for the practical application of enlightened principles and died--persecuted--in a fortress of the Dutch colonial power.<sup>4</sup> Devoted



to Amo was a representative exhibit organized by the GDR and shown some years ago at UNESCO headquarters in Paris.

In 1767 Catherine II sent 11 Russian students to study law at Leipzig. They included author and philosopher Aleksandr Radishchev. This seems to have been the beginning of organized studies by foreigners in Leipzig, with a summer semester as the preparatory stage.

Of course it is impossible to compare with those now prevailing in the GDR the conditions in which foreigners used to study at German universities. Normally they were scions of wealthy families. If they happened to come from poorer strata, they had to struggle much harder than their socially equal German fellow students. The bourgeois state did little to encourage foreign students, and when it did only with the intention of benefiting future exports, obtaining new political spheres of influence and supporting expansive ambitions--including spying.

Foreign students had to pay fees, prove adequate knowledge of German and provide their own upkeep. Preparator instruction to bring them up to the necessary standard of knowledge was largely unknown.

This also determined later conceptions governing the studies of foreigners in the imperialist educational system. Though the outward forms have been refined, there has been no fundamental change in this policy in the FRG.

Efforts are made in the FRG to disguise the old imperialist line with a new terminology, to give it a sugar coating. That was also the object of a symposium on the topic "international cultural relations--a bridge across frontiers" held in May 1980. Neither the attendance of prominent Bonn representatives nor a choice of new phrases such as "guest at home--partner abroad" or "readiness to partnership signifies the abandonment of the concept of cultural exports," to name only a few, were able to convince the developing countries representing the target group that a real change of heart had occurred in the FRG. Students abroad are not blind to the well known problems confronting foreign workers and their families in the FRG.

The situation in the GDR is quite different. The training of foreigners here was totally restructured. That is clearly shown by the preparation, selection, origin--social and by countries--and, lastly, the facilities for studies and the method of training of foreign students. On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the foreign student program in the GDR we received many congratulatory letters and data. They bear witness that, by their technical and social work, the foreign graduates serve their peoples, national and social progress, peace and understanding among the peoples. We may consider this a confirmation of the benefits of the education received in the GDR, which is humanist, anti-imperialist and consonant with socialism.

The views of graduates continue to be colored by the example of the socialist GDR, providing them with ammunition for the future. We still pursue our efforts by meeting our graduates wishes for close scientific and personal relations. That involves mainly further education and the exchange of scientific data.

Offered for this purpose in the GDR are such opportunities as further education courses--international university vacation courses for German linguists and teachers

of German, training courses on economic problems of developing countries (UNID), courses of instruction at the Institute for Tropical Agriculture, and many others. They are much used. In addition our universities and colleges offer a wide range of further education courses. Another possibility is the engagement for lectures, seminars, and so on, aimed at further education, of GDR scientists who are temporarily abroad. Welcome initiatives to that effect have been recorded in various countries, for example for GDR physicians in Finland.

Many connections persist between graduates and their alma maters, their teachers and former fellow students as well as enterprises and social organizations in the GDR. They benefit both sides--letting us in the GDR know about the results of the training (many suggestions of former graduates were adopted in later courses), and providing information to the graduate about recent GDR developments in his field.

The 30th anniversary of the foreign student program will be celebrated this year at home and abroad. In Berlin, the GDR capital, a central festive event will be dedicated to it. Many graduates from all over the world will attend. They will use the opportunity to visit their alma maters, meet with teachers and friends, and go on excursions.

We have been informed of many commemorative events abroad. To be mentioned in particular are the efforts of the national friendship societies and graduate associations, for instance in the People's Republic of Yemen, Mali, India, Cyprus, Guyana and Peru. They will organize meetings and conferences, dedicate publications to the 30th anniversary.

The foreign student program in the GDR represents a historical achievement, and its international and foreign political ramifications should not be underestimated. In the early years of the GDR it was sometimes the only means by which the imperialist boycott could be broken. The training of foreigners became a significant element of cultural-scientific relations with other countries, which in turn are an important pillar of GDR foreign policy, devoted to peace, peaceful cooperation and friendship among the peoples. The training of foreign students directly helps the rapprochement with the socialist fraternal countries, socialist economic integration and scientific and cultural cooperation in the socialist community of nations. It reflects the solidarity and great affection of the GDR for the nationally liberated countries and the peoples fighting for their liberation; it supports the struggle of the international working class.

#### FOOTNOTE

1. See R. Theek, *HORIZONT*, Berlin 1981, No 26, p 20.
2. See "Bericht des ZK der SED an den X. Parteitag der SED" [*SED Central Committee Report to the Tenth SED Congress*], Berlin 1981, p 30.
3. Fifth University Conference of the GDR, Minutes, issued by the GDR Council of Ministers, Ministry for University and Technical School Affairs, p 47.
4. See "Magister und Scholaren, Professoren und Studenten" [*Masters and Scholars, Professors and Students*], Leipzig-Berlin-Jena 1981, pp 59f.

## MINISTER ASSESSES SCHOOL SITUATION, PROSPECTS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by Jozsef Dreicin deputy minister of education: "School Situation"]

[Text] The old saying that pedagogy is the foundation for the success of all school systems and the teacher is its key person, has lost none of its applicability. However, due to technical progress this is supplemented by the requirement that in modernly equipped buildings sufficient funds for continuous good work serve to support success. The economic prerequisites of education are increasing all over the world, and society's costs are rising. This progress which includes changes in quality can also be seen in the Hungarian elementary school network.

All this must be stated at the outset today, when parents and the professional general opinion ask with concern whether the teaching and training of elementary school age children will encounter financial limitations in the 1980's. Those who are asking the questions know and often have already experienced some of the difficulties. Overcrowding, teaching in shifts, student transportation and the shortage of day care spaces are already realities today in many places, and casts a shadow on the pleasure of even the most beautiful new school. And the circumstances of service are definitely poor even this year in some settlements and school districts. And as it is well known, 4 years from now due to the demographic curve we will have to provide space and services for the education of 130,000 more children in the schools.

We have never had to create the conditions to take care of such a large number of children in such a short time as well as to make up for past failures, and we must not forget this—to do this without lowering teaching and training standards. Whereas this came about as a result of population growth and society's well being, this demand also requires us to create together the opportunities and supports to rear them to become creative individuals. These children must not suffer a disadvantage as a group simply because they grow up as members of a more populous generation. Thus to fully implement the compulsory education law we cannot delay combining our resources to increase the schools.

This attitude also prevailed in the government's decision, in spite of the economic difficulties, in the Sixth 5-Year Plan when it listed the matter of elementary schools among the most important issues, and worked out a separate program to improve them. In 5 years we will spend 15 billion forints for school construction alone (during the Fifth 5-Year Plan we spent 6 billion for this purpose), and we will be



able to equip 5,000 to 6,000 classrooms, two-thirds of them in new buildings. The implementation of this alone is a large organizational and technical task. But we must know that in the peak years of the demographic wave at least 10,000 new classrooms will be needed for ideal placement. Our country has neither enough money nor enough builders for this. Implementation of many more billions of additional investment in elementary schools to meet the [demands] of demographic wave also would not be reasonable since in 7 or 8 years the curve will descend and in part will shift over into other forms of schooling.

It would be unfounded to promise that in the coming time period there will be no schooling problems which are temporary and related for the most part to the population's geographic migration, and urbanization. But these will be mostly preventable and possibly minimized if we succeed in uniting society's cooperation and management's professional know-how in the school construction program circumspectly and without delay. This is needed even more so because the development of the elementary school network cannot be centrally "directed" due to its great managerial and economic--geographic--decentralization, and in addition to this the quality differences are most extreme at the elementary levels as far as the condition of our schools is concerned. And whether the town or city district gains a new classroom for 4 million forints in a new school building or for 1 million as expansion of an existing one, it only can be decided by knowing local conditions.

Agreement by the councils and the voters to give the schools priority from the council's funds earmarked for the improvement of education is a precondition of successful work. By ranking the tasks, the money must be spent in a planned manner for school districts which are in a permanently difficult situation, and not just on the basis of the local leadership's activity. The Ministry of Education discussed the tasks with the megye councils; the intentions learned are promising but far from being realized. Agreement must also be reached as soon as possible on the method of development. The reorganization actions characteristic for recent years can no longer be continued, nor can the practice of building schools in residential areas after the people move in. The lack of standardized plans is also no longer an obstacle today to building some buildings which can be used for several purposes so that later secondary schools can be located in them. In many locations unusable buildings can also be made suitable for teaching by organization and minor remodeling; and this is still more favorable than making the students travel longer than the usual distances. In other places--counting in advance on the schools under construction--reasonable and lasting district line modifications may ease overcrowdedness.

Even these necessary temporary solutions cause a particularly tense atmosphere only where the level of the more and more general social care is low in the schools, where the day care centers and school lunch programs receive little support. The organizing work of the councils has been more active lately in this area, but the rise in the operating costs of schools presents no lesser tasks to them than classroom construction. Even though it was forced on them by life, the councils' endeavor to supplement the fixed budget sums with their own resources is noteworthy. This readiness may also help meet the most pressing needs, even though in the coming years the rate of expanding social care in the schools will slow down somewhat.

Factories and institutions all over the country are accepting a part of these days in purchasing, supplementing and repairing school equipment as well as in restoring the buildings during the summer. At times it depends only on the meeting of the enthusiastic organizer and the business manager who supports education, and on the

willingness of the work place communities, whether a school will become beautiful, more like home, and richer in its educational work. And those who are willing to support it deserve public and lasting recognition by society. But how many places mark, even with just a small plaque, the planners and superb builders of a home-like, beautiful school? And why are we happier for the town's third ABC [department store], the swimming pool, or the house of creativity than for a new school where the futures of our children are shaped? Or why don't we encourage people who are ready to do work for the school foundation? As a result of several decades of conditioning the results of even our most beautiful things, of our work done for the community are lost in the obscurity of impersonality, even though we do have traditions of recognition, we need only to revive them. Thus there are also lessons to be heeded for our public life style, for our communal life.

In the strictest sense of the word the situation and work of our elementary schools directly affects the broadest strata of our society, and those who are interested in it may not refuse to actively participate in it. How good the school of a village or city district is, whether or not its environs are in good order, and under what conditions the children spend their days, says much also about those who live there. About both those who are from their offices responsible for the school, and those who take part of the social work as well as the ones who do not. Obviously the opportunities of taking part in social support and in the school's affairs have not been established everywhere. But in the future more attention will have to be paid to this also. Not only because more difficult years are coming for the schools, and it is also in the interest of the parents and their children study under as good circumstances as possible. The efforts of the local communities are gaining strength in other areas of life also to shape their environments, and it is our exemplary obligation to provide an opportunity to do so and to encourage this also in the case of the schools.

8584

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## LEGAL ASPECTS OF CARRYING OUT 1970 POLISH-FRG TREATY DISCUSSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIĘDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 2, Feb 81 pp 7-14

[Article by Alfons Klafkowski, Director of the Institute of Constitutional Sciences of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań]

[Text] The treaty on normalization of relations concluded by Poland and FRG<sup>1</sup> on 7 December 1970 became effective on 3 June 1972, the day the ratification documents were exchanged in Bonn.<sup>2</sup> A complex and difficult process of implementation of the provisions of the treaty by both states began on that date. Legal assessment of this process requires, in the first place, a determination of conformity of the parties' actions with the provisions of the treaty and, second, a determination of the parties' responsibility for their actions (or failure to act) not in accord with the treaty.

The Polish legal analysis of the treaty of 7 December 1970 is contained in a document elaborated by the Chancellery of the Sejm and published in 1972 under the title "Ratification of the Treaty Between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG." It is a complete report from the joint session of the Commission on Foreign Affairs and the Commission on Legislative Actions, held on 25 May 1972. The legal analysis presented in this document is based exclusively on international agreements that constitute universally applicable international law. It can be asserted today that this analysis has stood the test of time, that is, the decade that passed from the day the treaty was signed.

### Legal Nature of Treaty Provisions

The Polish-FRG treaty is composed of an introduction (preamble) and five articles. The preamble—of major importance because of its interpretive instructions—requires no additional comments today.

Article I contains all the components of the institution of international recognition of a State border. It includes a description of the course of Poland's western frontier, based on the language of Chapter IX of the Potsdam Agreement with a reference to this agreement. Article I is declarative in nature: it recognizes the Potsdam Agreement to be the constituting act in the case of the Polish western border. It can be added that twenty years earlier, in 1950, the German Democratic Republic confirmed in the Zgorzelec (Görlitz) Treaty the recognition of this frontier as the existing Polish-German border determined by



the Potsdam Agreement. It is also worth adding that Article I reiterates the resolutions contained in Article 3 of the USSR-FRG Treaty, signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.<sup>3</sup>

The Treaty's article discussed here reaffirms inviolability of Poland's western border now and in the future, and contains a commitment to unconditional respect for territorial integrity, along with a declaration that both States have no territorial claims toward each other and will not advance such claims in the future either. Despite a reciprocity clause contained in these resolutions, they actually apply to only one of the parties to the Treaty, since Poland did not advance any territorial claims against the FRG.

Numerous facts from the past period signal that Article I is not being fully implemented by the supreme organs of FRG authority nor by that State's supreme administrative bodies. This is frequently attested by FRG president's frequently ambiguous enunciations and repeatedly equivocal formulations of the chancellor in their annual messages on the state of the nation, to point out only documents of a particular nature alone. This is likewise attested by equivocal statements made by the ministers of foreign affairs, internal affairs and justice and many other representatives of supreme administrative bodies of the FRG. Parliamentary debates and motions are a special mode for expressing disrespect of Article I. The FRG parliament's legislative activity offers much evidence to prove that there exists in that country a phenomenon with an already coined colloquial name of legal aggression against Poland, the Soviet Union and the GDR and many other countries as well. A similar trend occurs in the rulings of FRG courts, inclusive of the Constitutional Tribunal in Karlsruhe.

Article II comprises an affirmation of the principles and goals formulated in the United Nations Charter. This Article is also declarative in character because at the time of the signing of the Treaty the goals and principles of the UN Charter were binding on the FRG although that country was then not a member of the United Nations. It is worth noting here that Poland is among the 51 countries that were founders of this organization.

The bases of normalization of relations between Poland and FRG are defined in Article III. Article IV regulates the status of independence from the Treaty of bilateral or multilateral international agreements, concluded earlier by, or applicable to the parties. Both will be discussed further in this article. Article V containing the resolutions concerning ratification of the Treaty is noteworthy, at the very least, for recalling that in this case the ratification procedure in FRG parliament continued for 18 months. Also notable are the results of final voting: out of the 495 qualified voters, 248 voted "yea," 17 voted "nay," and 230 abstained. A telling commentary on that vote--which is also worth remembering today--was provided by the result of voting on the same day, 17 May 1972, on the so-called Bundestag resolution concerning FRG treaties with Poland and the Soviet Union. Out of the 496 qualified votes, there were 491 "yeas" and only 5 abstentions. This resolution, while constituting Bundestag's internal act, was an expression of the unity of views held by all the parties represented in it. Formulated in ten points, the Bundestag resolution is an expression of the political tendencies directed against the legal foundation of the Polish-FRG treaty and the FRG-Soviet Union treaty.

To add to this general legal characterization of the Polish-FRG treaty, it is noted that despite its sovereign nature, this international agreement, concluded independently of other states, has the quality of an exceptional link in international relations. The qualified character of this expression of will by the parties to the Treaty is manifested in each of the parties having consulted its allies about the Treaty. Documentation to this effect was published both in Poland and in FRG. Thus, the Polish-FRG Treaty is at the same time a component part in the normalization of relations between FRG and all the socialist countries. It is also a part in the relations between two military systems: the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

#### Interpretation of the Provisions of the Treaty

Are the differences in the interpretation of the Treaty identical to those that came into light in connection with its ratification in 1972?

Assuming that legal interpretation of the Treaty means a process of determining its substance and specifying its content, it must be affirmed that the Treaty is a bilateral agreement, and an expression of concerted will of both states. In the absence of such concerted will of both states, the Treaty would not have been signed. It follows from this that a single, concerted legal interpretation of this Treaty is also required. The absence of a uniform legal interpretation of the Treaty by both states undercuts its credibility.

Two types of interpretation can be distinguished. The first is legal interpretation based on the precise norms itemized in the Vienna Convention on treaty law of 1969 (Articles 31 through 33). The second type is the diplomatic, that is, political, interpretation. Its basis is the ad hoc interest of the party interpreting an international agreement. The diplomatic interpretation is based on none but political rules. It is most frequently applied by a politician as a weapon with which to make up for the lack of success in negotiating a treaty according to his desires.

The conceptual ambiguity that FRG has in a politically calculating manner injected by means of diplomatic interpretation requires, on Poland's part, a constant vigilant comparison with the text of the Treaty of all measures relating to the implementation of its provisions.

#### An Analysis of Performance Under Article II of the Treaty

Experience connected with the practices in the area of implementing Article III of the treaty suggests some general remarks.

First, Article III contains the term "full normalization" of mutual relations which, due to the lack of a definition, can be seen as a laconic formulation for a process with little delineation. It is evident that the entire dynamics of normalization of relations between the two states cannot be expounded in a single article of an international agreement. Nor was this process defined by the statements of Polish and FRG representatives at the time the Treaty was initialled, signed and ratified. I believe that the past decade of performance under the Treaty has also failed to provide the foundation for an exhaustive definition of the concept of "full normalization."

Secondly, Article III defines the Polish-FRG Treaty as a "durable basis" for complete normalization and comprehensive development of mutual relations. The term "durable" has an essential interpretive significance in the entire Treaty. Precisely this "durability" requires some sort of cataloguing of the "further steps" provided for in the Treaty with the view to complete normalization of mutual relations. A list of this kind has not been published yet by either party to the Treaty.

Third, Article III of the Treaty lists two groups of concerns which comprise the notion of normalization. The first includes clearly identified affairs: economic, research, scientific-technological and cultural. It should be noted here that the issue of normalization of relations between Poland and FRG has a different dimension than does economic collaboration between the two countries. It is worth remembering that Poland concluded a commercial treaty with FRG in 1970 when normalization of relations had not even been mentioned; under that treaty, commercial relations were established by both countries. In 1970, the ongoing negotiations on a normalization treaty were paralleled by negotiations involving a commercial treaty between the two countries. The second group of concerns was defined as "other" matters. Among those "other" matters, FRG has placed--for reasons unknown, but with a well known slant--a range of matters FRG defines as "humanitarian," especially emphasizing among these those who emigrate to seek employment and label it with the codename "German family unification."

Fourthly, the form of a legal act that the Polish-FRG Treaty constitutes can leave no doubt that the purpose of the Treaty is to limit the relations between the two States to a specified legal base, legal and not political, to stress the point. The title of this legal act states that the legal problems between the two states cannot be shunted by them to some remote future or excluded from an extended outlook. Relations that are regulated by international law are supposed to be binding on both states. This involves the obligation to assure conformity between a state's internal body of laws and its international commitments. This requirement is specified in Article 27 of the Vienna Convention of 1969 on treaty law which affirms that a party to an international agreement cannot refer to the provisions of its internal law to justify an instance of failure to carry out an international agreement. In this context it is sufficient to recall just one term used in FRG's internal legislation: "Inland," a single word containing the entire program of FRG's revisionist foreign policies. Based on an analysis of 18 major federal bills enacted in 1955-79, it can be affirmed that the term "Inland" as the program of revisionism toward international agreements has not changed its nature after FRG concluded such agreements. We are referring here to the agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and Poland in 1970 and the agreement with the GDR in 1972. In the context of this set of federal legislation, it is worth noting the concept that resurfaces both in parliamentary debates and official declarations: the FRG does not loosen its hold on the trump card of its internal law even at times when it can gain nothing in return in the domain of international law. This is an ominous caveat to all parties concluding international agreements with FRG.

Summing up the remarks on performance under Article III of the Treaty, two observations may be added. The first one is that normalization of relations between two states cannot by itself be a goal. Its fundamental component must



be carefully defined and proportioned within the structure of an entire normalization process. Without doubt, legislation, court rulings and public administration come to the fore. From this point of view, FRG's posture as regards Article III does not engender confidence. The second observation concerns occurrence of distinct linkages between this Treaty and the entirety of international relations. The Polish-FRG treaty is a bilateral one, but it was concluded within the context of specified ties with the four major powers who are parties to the Potsdam Agreement and who frame the future of international peace and security in Europe. An organized erosion of this international treaty by FRG internal law undermines the bases of all the so-called Eastern pacts concluded by FRG after 1970. This applies equally to Poland, the Soviet Union, GDR and Czechoslovakia, and, to a certain degree, FRG's western neighbors as well.

#### Analysis of Performance Under Article IV of the Treaty

It is declared in Article IV that the Treaty does not apply to bilateral or multilateral international agreements concluded earlier by, or involving, Poland and FRG. Interpretive possibilities are broad here--especially from a political point of view--because both states take a firm stand about complete applicability of all the international agreements concluded by them earlier.

In Article IV, there is a division of international agreements into two groups. The first group includes agreements that both Poland and FRG concluded prior to the signing of the Treaty. The second are agreements not concluded by, but involving, the two states.

On Poland's part, the first group includes border pacts concluded with the Soviet Union, GDR and Czechoslovakia after World War II. It also contains bilateral treaties on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. Of course, this group also includes the Warsaw Pact of 1955 and the treaty on CEPA. Foremost in the group of agreements not concluded by, but applying to, Poland is the Potsdam Agreement. Only the four great powers are parties to this agreement, but it applies to Poland because it [the agreement] intrinsically regulates our western frontier.

FRG, on its part, had concluded various agreements prior to 1970, including border pacts with France, Belgium, Holland and Switzerland. The Treaty is also inapplicable to agreements concluded by FRG in 1954 and termed jointly as Paris Treaties (which resulted in FRG's rearmament and entry in the NATO bloc). The group of agreements which involve the FRG obviously includes the Potsdam Agreement as well.

Especially noteworthy within the sphere of diplomatic interpretation of Article IV by FRG is the inclusion of two issues in this context. The first is what is termed the German problem, raised with increasing distinctness in official pronouncements of FRG authorities and interpreted as a goal based on achieving the "unity of Germany." Official FRG declarations with increasing stridency emphasize the thesis that the German nation is divided contrary to its will, and that the goal of FRG's policies is to act toward the creation of conditions under which that nation could regain its unity under the principle of self-determination. Actions of this kind peaked in an exchange of letters between FRG and the three western powers on May 5, 1980, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of

promulgation of the so-called Paris Treaties. The second issue is the tendency to treat the Polish-FRG Treaty on normalization as a provisional arrangement of some kind. This tendency is served by formulations of so-called reservations to the Treaty, which took on a special form in the Bundestag resolution of May 17, 1972, frequently quoted in support by official declaration of the FRG as well. Albeit this resolution, being an internal act of the West German parliament, cannot change the substance of the Treaty, the FRG treats it as an instrument it can use in international relations. From the legal point of view, it ought to be stressed that referring to this resolution as a reservation to the Polish-FRG Treaty has nothing in common with international law. The legal status of "reservations" is regulated by the Vienna Convention on treaty law of 1969. They involve none but multilateral agreements. In bilateral agreements, if one of the parties offers a reservation, an agreement, as a rule, is not concluded.

#### **International Responsibility For Actions (or Failure to Act) Not In Accord With the Treaty**

The 1969 Vienna Convention on the law of treaties establishes in Article 27 that a party to an agreement cannot cite its internal law to justify its failure to carry out the provisions of the agreement. This point is so evident that in the course of the preparatory efforts to codify the law of treaties the competent organ of the UN, the International Law Commission, paid no closer attention to this issue.

It is worth adding that a position of this kind is adopted also in Article 25 of the Basic Law of the FRG which declares that the general principles of international law are a constituent part of the federal law, have precedence over federal legislation and directly constitute the rights and duties of FRG citizens. Likewise Article 31 of the Basic Law of the FRG affirms that the federal law overrules the provincial law, thereby assuring the effectiveness of implementing Article 25. It follows from this that FRG's international commitments undergo a transformation within the system of the federal law and enter, therefore, into the legal systems of particular FRG provinces.

To expound on the notion of "Inland" mentioned above, it can be affirmed that this formula infringes upon FRG's bilateral obligations as well as its commitments resulting from the multilateral international agreements, especially the Potsdam Agreement. International accountability for infringement of these agreements rests with FRG state authorities, rather than with political parties, church organizations, revisionist social organizations and the teachings of international law. The FRG government is responsible for everything that occurs within the framework of that country's sovereignty. It is up to the FRG government to dismantle this fictitious infrastructure of FRG internal law, and FRG government bears international responsibility for achieving this. The matter is even more serious because of the position of FRG government as encapsulated in the "Inland" formula, being presented by that government in international exchanges, especially in the UN forum and in other international organizations. It can be added that FRG government has a legal responsibility. It is a qualified responsibility resulting from the above-mentioned bilateral linking of the Polish-FRG Treaty with the entire system of international relations at whose foundation is the peace and security in Europe.

To conclude these reflections, it is worthwhile to formulate several general remarks on key issues in the normalization of relations between Poland and FRG.

First, the process of normalization between FRG-Poland relations has not passed its initial phase. In order to undertake and conduct this process in the past decade, a measure of trust was needed, and it was magnanimously granted to the FRG by Poland. Personally, I am convinced that this trust has been abused by the FRG. The legal interpretation of the Polish-FRG Treaty presented above is free from all hopes and, in general, it is free from any time-related calculations. A legal interpretation requires concretization of the list of issues to be settled.

Second, every Pole has a definite historical instinct. This instinct dictates him to pay especial attention to the rebirth of German reflection on the role of Prussia in the history of Germany. Contrary to Act No 46 of the Allied Council of Control over Germany, regulating the matter of Prussia's liquidation, we are witnessing a rediscovery and apotheosis of the role of Prussia and Prussianism in German history.

Third, special attention is due FRG's attitude to the UN convention of 1968 on the noncontinuance of war crimes against humanity. I am merely noting this problem, as it is only too well known in Poland as requiring comment in the context of the present situation.

Fourth, considering that among the "other" matters constituting the basis for normalization, the FRG prioritizes the so-called humanitarian concerns. Poland cannot forget, on its part, the question of repayment to individual Polish citizens for the damages incurred as a result of concentration camps and all other forms of physical extermination of the Poles, for the hard-labor performed in prisoner-of-war military camps, and for the slave labor of the millions of Poles, to mention a few examples.

Fifth, the issues presented here extend far beyond the framework of bilateral relations between Poland and the FRG. For several years now, we have witnessed the FRG's increased activity in the international relations. Much of it at the initiative of the FRG, and much comes from the initiative and support of those countries that are shaping the FRG policies in its alliances directed against Poland and against Poland's allies, especially the Soviet Union and the GDR. This requires constant vigilance on the part of Poland.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See the Text of the Treaty, Dziennik Ustaw (Legal Gazette) 1972, No 24, item 168, "Collection of Documents," 1970, No 12.
2. See the declaration of the government dated June 5, 1972 in the "Legal Gazette," 1972, No 24, item 169.
3. "Collection of Documents," 1970, No 8.

8795

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## REFORM OF HIGHER EDUCATION PROPOSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12-13 Sep 81 pp 5,12

[Article by Henryk Lipszyc, Oriental Studies Department, Warsaw University and Andrzej Rabczenko, Institute of Biochemistry and Biophysics, Polish Academy of Sciences]

[Text] The question of the level of professional training of Poles having a higher education, and in turn, the question of the effectiveness of their professional activities is desperately important for the continued development of the country and is inevitably linked with the question of the educational method.

Assumptions with regard to the present system are the following: in secondary school one selects one's course of study, then, after one has been accepted to a higher school, one gains extensive knowledge in the given field, and following his studies, undertakes work in his field of study.

The above picture is a system of marriage without divorce, which most often leads to a fleeting relationship, and at 18 years of age. And the truth is that the above process goes badly at all stages. Secondary school often crams dull information [into the students] instead of teaching them to think and to determine their interests independently. The selection of a course of study is incidental, study is a rigid program of producing master's degree recipients whose knowledge is broad but not deep and the system of job-seeking is a curious combination of accidents and influence.

It is obvious that all of the links of this chain ought to be reformed and that there is no delaying the solution of these problems, since we consider the intellectual potential of the generation which will have to repair what is being ruined at the present time to be important capital.

What follows here is a presentation of a model of higher school which would be optimally effective for universities, polytechnics and agricultural academies. In this system the student ceases to be an object, whose goal it is to acquire an assortment of signatures for his course registration book, but becomes a person who is aware and who chooses his future place in society.

## A Bilevel Educational System

The study program is composed of two levels. The goal of the first 3 years is to prepare the student for specialized studies of the second stage. In addition

to a certain number of required courses, there are specializations (and there are, just as at present, several within each faculty) which carry out a separate policy of encouraging students to study. This is done with the help of a point system set up for the credited courses. In order for a student to undertake studies in the second stage, which brings him a master's degree, the student must give evidence of having accumulated the required number of points. Within the framework of this system, the student moves completely independently. He is directed by his own interests, aided of course by consultations and by the program requirements of the specific specialization. A change in one's specialization or in one's course (faculty) of studies depends exclusively upon the decision of the student. He must only have the points he has accumulated recalculated, since his concrete achievements may yield varying amounts of points in the various specializations and courses.

An identical system operates within the second stage, although here the program should be more individualized; in any event, it should be less formal than the first stage.

Studying in the above manner forces the student to make constant choices about his progress and his course of study. A conscious choice issues from the motivation for his actions. Motivation in turn is the student's individual determination of his future role in society. It is not the student's acceptance of a command but his own active search.

An additional positive aspect of bilevel advanced studies could be the introduction of a diploma granted upon the completion of the first stage of a given course or specialization. Such a diploma could grant certain rights in one's professional work. The following proposal for expanding the activities of the institution of higher learning into a continuing education program is likewise connected with the question.

#### The Institution of Higher Learning as a School for Continuing Education

The higher school should function not only as a factory producing master's degree recipients; it should also be the best place for improving one's skills, a place accessible to all. For example, the University Foreign Language Program should be the best place for learning a language, with the credits of the first stage of, let us say, English studies, signifying mastery of the language on such a level as is required on State examinations.

The higher school should be able to take advantage of a considerably larger group of educators who are indispensable to serve students.

Factories or particular organizations make their needs known to the higher school, and the higher school sets in motion its educators and organizes the appropriate classes, not necessarily on the campus of the school.

This proposal would certainly evoke the vehement opposition of the overworked cadre of educators if it were not for the following proposal.

Let us turn our attention to certain facts:

- the employees of higher schools are overburdened with teaching duties;
- the employees of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] and ministry institutes as well as masses of teaching interns may not lecture at institutions of higher learning;
- the career of a higher school educator is linked with his scholarly work;
- his teaching is often poorly done, since it is a sideline;
- teaching institutes and faculty councils have a monopoly on the creation of teaching programs;
- the scope of scholarly work in the higher school is often divergent from what is being done in this field outside the school.

#### Who Is To Initiate Reform

The conclusions from the above observations are obvious; consequently, instead of entering into any sort of analysis of them we will move on to the proposals.

An educational program should be the work of the representatives of the given field and not the work of teaching institutes. We propose that the responsibility for the course of education rest with the program council, which would include PAN employees, employees of ministry institutes and teaching interns as well as higher school employees. The program council would formulate a program of teaching and it would set up the cadre of educators, who would be taken from the entire milieu. The qualifications for assuming a teaching position should arise out of one's ability and not out of a hidden obligation. The monopoly of employees of institutes of higher learning in education would be a sensible thing if the criteria for the selection of the cadres of these institutes were their high teaching capabilities. Such is not the case. The situation of a good scholar's being a good educator is very probable, but what if he stutters? Can he not be a good scholar?

With all due respect to institute employees, but should the Program Council of the Law Faculty not include eminent lawyers, judges or prosecutors? Should they not lecture? Should the Program Council of the Polish Studies Faculty not include eminent writers? Should they not conduct lectures? In the PAN institutes are found masses of employees who should peddle their knowledge not only at scientific congresses, but likewise during the process of educating the next generations.

The above-presented model of studies enables the contact between the higher school and candidates to be improved, as well as the contact of students with their future places of work. A candidate for a higher school must come to an accurate understanding of his scholarly program before his entrance examination because following his examination he must himself determine which courses he will take. Likewise, the school-to-work transition is made smoother since the student



selects his own courses in terms of his future work, both in the first and second stages. This also means that the student must know something.

A further problem is this—should the entire program of doctoral studies not come under the higher school?

These and many similar issues may be resolved through a precise technical program of reform.

There is still the open question which arose during discussion of the bilevel system: Can we afford it? The English have a saying: "We cannot afford what comes cheap"; the Russians: "It is better to lose to a wise man than to win from an idiot." And the moral of these two maxims is this, that if the superiority of the proposed system is accepted, then we should adopt it. We should adopt it immediately without regard for the costs, which would be minimal. Because for Poland, for our culture and economy, poor quality education of entire generations is like a foundry at Skawina for the use of the city of Krakow. We must look to ourselves, to our own people for the wisdom to extricate ourselves from this snare.

8536

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## PARTY PAPER DISCUSSES CHURCH INFLUENCE ON YOUTH

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Sep 81 p 13

[Article by Branimir Radivojca]

[Text] Religious teaching interests young people less and less. Isn't that the reason why some church groups use all permitted and unpermitted means to influence their interest as much as possible.

During the August religious holidays the Orthodox churches in Zemun held the usual church services. In one of them, the only persons in attendance other than priests were several older women in black. The priest chanted his chants while the women, far from each other in the corners, remained silent.

Nothing should be concluded on the basis of the religious rite in the Zemun church, and yet the impression emerges that such pictures are not unusual today. The church's teachings and church rites here for years have been on the margins of interest of the greater number of citizens, particularly of young people. This has been shown by some research as well. Anonymous questionnaires administered by some institutes indicate that as a rule, with greater educational levels the interest in religious confessions declines. According to research of the Institute of Social Sciences in Belgrade, the year before last only 7 percent of young people in Serbia proper held religious convictions, while 87 percent of those questioned expressed anti-religious opinions. Another study, conducted throughout the country in 1974, showed that the most numerous group of believers were the uneducated. According to the questionnaire, nearly one half (46 percent) of those with less than 4 years of schooling were religious, while 31 percent of agricultural workers professed a religious faith. At the same time, 6 percent of Yugoslav students declared themselves to have religious convictions.

Dr Dragomir Pantic of the Institute for Social Sciences says that erosion is taking place in the attitude of the intellectual and teaching component's religious convictions. In other words, steadily less attention is paid to church teachings, while moral, ritual and traditional and certain other aspects of religion are on the increase. Thus part of the young people in the country keep religious celebrations, symbols and customs that in many aspects differ from secular practices.

It cannot, however, be said that these rituals have a deep effect on the behavior of youth. The church with its traditional provocative apparatus, under circumstances

where in general the family does not insist on "defending the faith," loses its flock of youth of 20 years of age. This estimate also holds for the somewhat more influential Catholic denomination.

#### From the Other Side of the Truth

Nevertheless, the impression remains that a significant number of young people continue to gather about the church. Why is that? Part of the clergy tries to communicate with the young generation in a totally different way. In Vojvodina instances have been recorded where educated priests organize supplementary teaching programs in secular academic subjects. In Croatia, and in other parts of the country, disco evenings are being arranged in religious buildings. There have also been low-cost visits to monasteries, trips and excursions as forms of modernized "cooperation" with potential young believers.

As university centers, the big cities objectively narrow the prospects for the church's activities even more. In an urban environment, there is no great interest for religion, so that any sort of opportunity for influence whatsoever is used to the maximum degree.

This year in Belgrade several public discussions have been devoted to problems of religion. The Youth Center, the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics and several other institutions in the city have been frequent sites for quiet "ideological struggles" between the Marxist and the "religious" world view. These discussions have been very interesting, because the theologian teachers have on a number of occasions showed that among other things, they are involved in politics. Reporters of youth and other newspapers have met these ambitions of learned believers so to speak "at daggers drawn." These have usually been followed by reactions and the creation of a climate of some scandal, which is one of the conditions for increasing youthful interest in religion. Apparently, however, the teachers did not see fit to try to convince the listeners of the justification of faith. Apparently it was more important to them to be, at any cost, the opposition to the value system of today's society.

The newest form of extreme, ultrareactionary political activity by the church has not given preference to youth. Actually, we are talking of the vain defense of "faith" and "nation," where a significant number of priests, from the Medjugorje (intermountain) region toward Bugojno and to Lomnica, attempt to function as the defenders of the interests of the "people without rights." The clericalist nationalists of the Islamic community attempt to revive the "young Moslem" movement. The pietist groups in Serbia (successors of the well-known nationalist Nikolaj Velimirovic) preach abstention from everyday sociopolitical and self-management life. Some priests of the Catholic church again are expressing concern for the "afflicted Croatia people." We also know that after the fire at the Pec patriarchate building there was an attempt to stir up nationalist passions, beginning with a "guileless" collection of contributions for restoring this historic building.

Without a doubt, all of these were more or less open attacks on the overall Yugoslav system and open attempts at persuasion of an ideology of division and exploitation. These clericalist ideas find their social support among today's youth, which can be a cause for amazement, since for many of them the church is "on the other side of



truth." It is an antiquated institution which addresses older people with its rituals and traditional celebrations. If, however, something entirely different is concealed beneath the black vestments, some thoroughly worthy motives of influence, then we should not talk of youthful interest in religion. Truly, things should be called by their proper name. For example, for a long time they did not know the difference in Kosovo between Yugoslav "good will" toward neighboring Albania and nationalism and irredentism. Something similar is the case with the church.

#### Antipathy as a Support

In the overall Yugoslav attitude toward religious denominations, there are no clear distinctions made between religious and the irreligious, between political activity and the church. In fact, such a distinction is also lacking among priests. In general the top religious leadership has good relations with the state. Nearly every meeting of church leaders and state representatives takes place "in a spirit of understanding," even though at that very moment throughout the sees and parishes dozens of priests are expressing themselves as opponents of this society. Within the church, a desire for "differentiation" is lacking. Priests' associations, which function within the framework of the Socialist Alliance (of the Working People), still do not participate in the struggle against clericalism. As Franc Setinc recently stated, "The church is separated from the state, but it cannot be excluded from the state." From there it follows that we should develop a status for religious communities that would prevent their opposition activities, for the religious denominations in Yugoslavia are not in any way a political partner. They, however, want to be just that, thanks to certain external influences.

The antipathy of so-called subjective forces toward everything that is in contact with religion is one of the reasons for the expression of "opposition." Frequently, despite more or less open participation in the mass action of the SAMP, believers are outside the overall happenings in self-management and sociopolitical agencies. Some studies have warned that those attending church as a rule are less interested in participation in public matters, and in the SAMP of Serbia they say that believers and priests have not been included in the work of numerous sections. Does that mean that communal, health, social and other problems are unimportant to them? On the contrary, opstina services (and of course, political agencies) know that they have been burdened with permits for repairing church buildings for years. This "fear" of exaggerated religious influence, according to the Commission for Relations With Religious Denominations of the Serbian Assembly, frequently has no basis at all.

In the youth organization they have been talking for years about increased attention to problems of religion. For now, however, in the Serbian Socialist Youth Alliance there are essentially no data on young believers. Aleksandar Danda, president of the Alliance's Commission for Ideological Work, says that the youth organization is overly involved with its daily tasks. He suggests certain crucial themes: What really interests the present generation, what is the level of its ideological preparation, why, chiefly in large cities, are the young people interested in various religious sects and in Buddhism? The Socialist Youth Alliance firmly insists on antiquated forms of work and withdraws into its presidia and commissions, while in real life something else is occurring. There is so-called secular religion, the devotion to the symbols of urban civilization such as music (and musicians), athletes and entertainment. And nothing is said at all about those who are "lured" by the words of dogmatic priests who are the proven enemies of this society.

All of this complicates the attitude toward religion and indicates that several paragraphs of law cannot resolve the matter of the church's position in the state. Every new "incident" ordinarily spawns new dilemmas. It is essential, however, that in these attitudes as a rule we see forces that are striving to and succeeding in functioning as active participants in political life. Although in principle the attitude toward the church is determined, with occasional more or less prevalent excesses, discussion of the problem of the activities of the various denominations remains a highly timely issue. It will not be resolved simply by forbidding the activities of "suspicious" priests. The causes for the fact that "ideologists" in vestments even today can "lure" hundreds of young people are found somewhere beyond the church buildings and their "attractiveness."

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